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LIFE IN Civil War America

Special Edition

CIVIL WAR TIMES ILLUSTRATED

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LIFE IN
Civil War America

Text by MAURY KLEIN

Wartime is by nature abnormal. As Americans learned most recently from their Vietnam experience, even a distant war deranges the routine of life at home. Men leave to fight, and some never return. Episodes of heroism and cowardice, sacrifice and exploitation color the moral landscape in extremes. Civil liberties usually taken for granted are suddenly challenged, even restricted. Nothing in life seems to move in its normal groove so long as the war continues.

Civil war compounds these problems and adds new ones. The conflict is not remote but fought within a nation's own borders. Every casualty is a citizen, every piece of damage a national loss. The struggle pits brother against brother, friend against friend. The carnage of war drenches familiar landscape, leaving scars and wounds that will not heal for generations. It is as if some form of madness has seized the land and wreaks bloody destruction until it drops at last of exhaustion.

Northerners and Southerners faced common problems during four years of madness: how did they cope with the horrors and uncertainties of Civil War?

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COVER: Detail of *Consecration* (1861), by George Cochran Lambdin (1830–1896). Reproduced by permission of the Indianapolis Museum of Art, James E. Roberts Fund. Design: Paul Bacon.

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Union wounded in Carver Hospital, Washington D.C. *(National Archives*

Life in the North

For most northerners the war was a distant but not remote event. Except for Lee's brief invasions of Maryland in 1862 and Pennsylvania in 1863, some fighting in the western border states, and a few raids, their cities and farms escaped the devastation that blighted large areas of the South. Seldom did the din of combat reach their ears or the menace of invading troops disturb their daily routines. Life went on, not as usual, but at least with a minimum of disruption.

But distance from the battlefield could not protect northerners from the effects of war. The ordeal of sustaining so massive a struggle intruded upon people's lives in countless ways. The most obvious of these was of course the absence of friends and kinfolk in the service. Every town and hamlet watched its young men depart for the front, some to die and others to return home with maimed bodies or broken spirits.

Concern for the safety of loved ones permeated households throughout the North. The slowness with which accurate details and casualty lists reached home after a major battle aggravated their distress. In this way distance from the seat of war bred anxiety as well as security. The pain of loss often found expression in popular culture. Two Civil War composers, George F. Root and Henry Clay Work, depicted it in their songs. One immensely popular tune by Root included the following lyrics (written by Henry Stevenson Washburn):

> At our fireside sad and lonely
> Often will the bosom swell
> At remembrance of the story
> How our noble Willie fell;
> How he strove to bear our banner
> Through the thickest of the fight,
> And uphold our country's honor
> In the strength of manhood's might.
> (Chorus)
> We shall meet, but we shall miss him,
> There will be one vacant chair;
> We will linger to caress him,
> When we breathe our evening prayer.

The presence of men in uniform, whether home on leave or forming into newly organized units, served as constant reminders to civilians. Soldiers could be found on the streets of towns and villages everywhere. In a city like Washington they were essential for keeping order; one report declared that without them, "this District would have been simply uninhabitable." Returning wounded also brought home stark evidence of their ordeal in combat. Rare was the town that did not welcome home a veteran minus an arm or leg or worse.

Hospitals filled with wounded had a similar effect. As the city nearest the eastern theatre, Washington endured the greatest crush of incoming casualties. Sick and wounded soldiers overflowed the hospitals into converted rooms in churches, the insane asylum, government buildings like the Patent Office and even the hallways of the Capitol. At times their number exceeded 50,000, "a population," Walt Whitman observed, "more numerous in itself than the Washington of ten or fifteen years ago." Creaking carts lumbered through the streets every night bearing their cargoes of dead to the cemeteries.

Some towns also housed army camps or prisoner-of-war compounds. Another agent of war, the conscription officer, began appearing after 1862 once the enlistment enthusiasm had passed. These officers became objects of loathing and often violence in many places, as did officers searching for deserters. During 1863 draft riots plunged New York City into turmoil, and in the lower Midwest resistance to the draft led to riots, the murdering of several draft officers, and a string of "outrages, robberies, and incendiary fires."

The conflict had its psychological effects as well. In 1863 the superintendent of the Illinois State Hospital for the Insane argued that the strain of war had brought a "vast invigoration of the American mind . . . national athleticism on a grand scale." But the shocks and dislocations of wartime did not find true reflection in mental institutions, partly because so few of their victims ended up there. A more perceptive judgment came from historian H.C. Hubbart, who concluded that "the West and the nation as a whole was torn by war-strain, indecision, party faction and demagogism, anxiety, sacrifice, devotion, suffering, insanity, and death. Democracy was in convulsion."

Apart from its advantage in men and guns, the northern war effort depended upon its superior industrial and agricultural might. In terms of productivity the war was fought as much at home as on the battlefield, and this struggle enlisted men, women, and children alike. The increased demand for goods, coupled with the drain of manpower for military service, meant that there were fewer people to do more work. Farm and factory responded to this need by increasing their use of machinery to replace human labor and by putting more women and children to work.

The North relied upon its staple crops both to feed its people and army and to produce surpluses which could be sold abroad for badly needed gold. As thousands of men left their farms to fight the war, women, children, and older men took up the field work. As a popular song enjoined:

> Just take your gun and go;
> For Ruth can drive the oxen, John,
> And I can use the hoe!

A missionary in Iowa observed in 1863, "I met more women driving teams on the road and saw more at work in the fields than men" Another wrote from Kansas, "Yes-

terday I saw the wife of one of our parishioners driving the team in a reaper; her husband is at Vicksburg. With what help she can secure and the assistance of her little children, she is carrying on the farm."

The rapid spread of farm machinery made this possible, a fact which delighted manufacturers who sniffed bonanza profits. Cyrus McCormick consoled a salesman in Illinois, "Don't be so blue over prospects. Remember 20,000 militia have to leave this state . . . and these men will have to come, many or a large share of them, from the farms." McCormick was correct. As the Cincinnati *Gazette* proclaimed in 1862, "A hundred thousand agricultural laborers are gone; how are we to meet the deficiency? We have met it chiefly by labor-saving machinery."

Mowers and reapers were still relatively new machines when the war began. By 1864 mower production exceeded 70,000 or twice the output of 1862, while McCormick alone turned out 6,000 reapers in 1864. These devices saved human labor and could be operated by women and children. Other machines, including the horse rake, new harrows, cultivators, corn planters, steam threshers, and grain drills were devised. In 1863 *Scientific American* boasted, "This year the demand for reapers has been so great that manufacturers will not be able to fill their orders. Farming is comparatively child's play to what it was twenty years ago, before mowing, reaping, and other agricultural machines were employed."

The use of machinery increased the scale of agriculture and enabled farmers to bring more land under cultivation, especially in the West. The results were impressive. Northern farmers produced large enough corn, oat, and wheat crops during the war years (including record crops in 1862) to fill domestic needs and still sell huge quantities to England, which experienced three consecutive years of crop failures. Hog and cattle output also increased sharply, and wool production jumped from 60 million pounds in 1860 to 140 million pounds in 1865. During those years the number of sheep in the North doubled, an important gain since wool offered the most common substitute for the cotton supply lost when the South seceded.

If northern farms basked in prosperity, so did its factories and mills. From their bustling, clanging interiors poured a swelling stream of muskets, cannon, equipment, locomotives, rails, wagons, tools, uniforms, shoes, and countless other items. Wartime needs accelerated the development of other industries besides armaments and farm machinery. The sewing machine, little over a decade old in 1860,

A piece of McCormick's labor-saving machinery. When men went to war, someone or something had to replace them in the fields.
(Harpers)

revolutionized the clothing and shoe industries when harnessed to the demands of war. Men's shirts, which took over fourteen hours to make by hand, could be done in little over an hour. The new McKay sewing machine enabled one man to sew several hundred pairs of shoes a day. Small shops gave way to factories throughout Massachusetts as the industry boomed. "Operatives are pouring in as fast as room can be made for them," reported a Lynn newspaper; "buildings for shoe factories are going up in every direction; the hum of machinery is heard on every hand."

One by-product of this boom was the discovery that uniforms and shoes manufactured in a few basic sizes would fit most men. This standardization simplified production in quantity and after the war spurred the rise of ready-made clothing industry. Military needs also stimulated the canned food industry, including Gail Borden's canned milk. The need to produce canned foods quickly and in quantity led to improvements in canning techniques and machinery.

As farms and factories responded to the war effort, an aura of prosperity settled across the North. Newspapers and politicians alike waxed eloquent over the nation's material well-being. *The New York Times* enthused in 1864 that northerners were better housed, clothed, and fed than ever before, "in the midst of the most gigantic civil war . . . yet seen." Wholesale farm prices doubled during the war years while non-agricultural wages rose 43 per cent. Farm land values soared, as did other real estate values. No one doubted the source of this windfall. As one commercial magazine observed of Massachusetts in 1863, "The war has brought into activity many mechanical employments for which there is little occasion in time of peace. . . . Wealth has flowed into the State in no stinted measure, despite of war and heavy taxes. In every department of labor the government has been, directly or indirectly, the chief employer and paymaster."

For many northerners, however, this prosperity proved more apparent than real. As usual war brought inflation which in many cases erased gains in income. Wholesale prices more than doubled while the consumer price index increased from 102 to 177 (1851-1859 = 100). According to one recent calculation, the real wage index actually declined from 102 in January 1861 to 67 in January 1865. *Fincher's Trades Review* declared in 1863 that "Two years ago, a man who received $1.50 per day, could satisfy his wants with that sum just as well, if not better, than he can now with $3.00 per day."

Wage earners suffered most from the ravages of inflation, but attempts to better their position made little headway during the war. Most wartime trade unions began at the local level, primarily in New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts, and boasted some 300 locals with 200,000 members by 1865. City federations, begun in Rochester in March 1863, soon sprang up in most industrial centers. Attempts to revive national trade associations made some gains, but the national organizations were loose bodies with little effective power over their locals. In general the labor movement remained weak during the war.

Unskilled workers, especially women, children, and blacks, endured starvation wages and sweatshop conditions with little hope of improving their lot. In 1861 the government's Philadelphia Armory paid women 17 1/2 cents to make a shirt. Three years later that figure had fallen to 15 cents despite the rise in prices. By contrast private contractors were paying only eight cents. To keep wages down employers hired not only women but young boys as apprentices and especially immigrants. They also utilized blacks as strike-breakers and resorted to labor-saving machinery where possible. Strikes proved futile in wartime. The public regarded them as disloyal and the government sometimes responded with troops. On several occasions President Lincoln felt obliged to intervene in an attempt to salve workers' feelings and preserve their loyalty to the war effort.

While workers found prosperity elusive, many business men reaped fat profits from wartime opportunities. Alert contractors were quick to take advantage of the government's needs. Some were content to earn legitimate fortunes; others resorted to chicanery to make their killings. Never had the nation created so large an army or required armaments and equipment in such huge quantities. The scale of operations, coupled with the urgency of purchasing so much so quickly, invited corruption of unprecedented dimensions. As early as July 1862 a report to the Secretary of War declared that

> We have found the system under which have been issued numerous orders or contracts for ordnance and ordnance stores . . . strongly marked with improvidence. The amount of these orders or contracts has been ascertained to be largely in excess of the public wants, and the prices fixed by many of them beyond necessity or means. . . . It has been impossible for us to protect the Government against lamentable losses in these loose and irregular transactions.

Revelation after revelation rocked the public, prompting the New York *Herald* in June 1864 to denounce the "gross corruption prevailing in nearly every department of the government." Large commissions went to men whose only service was to obtain lucrative government contracts for firms.

On the stock and gold exchanges, speculators thrived

The Civil War brought on an increase in Northern industries' output and profits. While the industrialists' profits soared, inflation kept wartime workers poor.
(Harpers)

on the uncertainties of wartime. Gold and security prices, like public morale, fluctuated with ebb and flow of news from the front. Hordes of speculators, including some women braving ridicule in a traditionally male arena, plunged into the treacherous currents of Wall Street seeking a quick fortune. One crafty manipulator, Daniel Drew, recalled that "Along with ordinary happenings, we fellows in Wall Street had the fortunes of war to speculate about. . . . It's good fishing in troubled waters." Another financier put the case more bluntly: "The battle of Bull Run makes the fortune of every man in Wall Street who is not a natural idiot."

Not all northern businessmen were dishonest, and not all made fortunes. But the war created a free-wheeling atmosphere that invited opportunism and abuse. It is important to remember that not all northerners bothered to fight the war or even tender it active support. Some people lacked strong interest in the conflict and either ignored it as best they could or resented it as an intrusion into their private affairs.

Among this group were men who found the wartime situation a golden opportunity for self-advancement. These ambitious young entrepreneurs used the war years to establish themselves while their peers were absent at the front. Some made fortunes even before the war ended, while others planted the roots of what were to be long and prosperous careers.

Within this group could be found a surprising number of the business titans who were to dominate the economy, and therefore much of American life, during the next half century: Andrew Carnegie, J. P. Morgan, John D. Rockefeller, George F. Baker, Frederick Weyerhauser, Gustavus Swift, Charles A. Pillsbury, George M. Pullman, Mark Hanna, Jay Gould, Marshall Field, John Wanamaker, and Peter Widener, to name but a few. These men, and others like them, ignored the call to arms and devoted themselves to the windfall opportunities bred by wartime conditions. Few of them even tried to enlist, fewer still stayed home because of disability (James J. Hill was one), and several (Carnegie, Gould, Rockefeller, and Philip D. Armour among them) hired substitutes.

In later years some of these men grew defensive about their failure to enter the service. "I was represented in the army," Rockefeller insisted. "I sent more then twenty men, yes, nearly thirty. That is, I made such arrangements for them that they were able to go." The majority, however, seemed content to concentrate on the business at hand. One son of banker Thomas Mellon begged his father for money to speculate in wheat. Writing from Wisconsin, he observed that people "continue growing richer and don't care when the war closes." Mindful of the education offered by prevailing conditions, the elder Mellon flatly forbade another son from enlisting:

> I had hoped my boy was going to make a smart intelligent businessman and was not such a goose as to be *seduced from duty* by the declamations of buncombed speeches. It is only greenhorns who enlist. *You can learn nothing in the army.* . . . In time you will come to understand and believe that a man may be a patriot without risking his own life or sacrificing his health. There are plenty of other lives less valuable or ready to serve for the love of serving.

To most of these men wartime opportunities brought financial nest eggs from which huge fortunes later hatched. For them as for many others who advanced their prospects during these years, prosperity was anything but illusory.

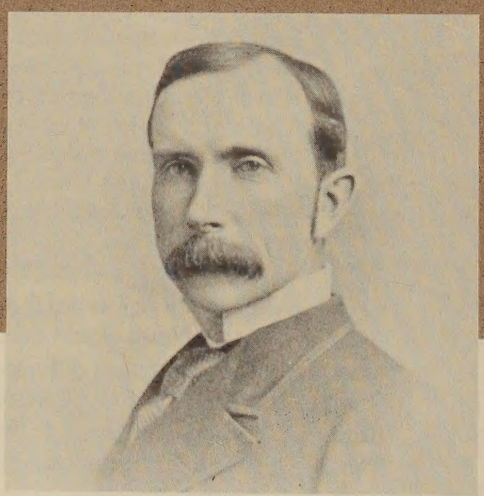
Society reflected this mood of prosperity, especially in the cities. As the war dragged on through month after weary month of bloody battles that produced defeat or indecision, northerners grasped eagerly at diversions to dispel the gloom of uncertainty that clouded the future. So frenetic did the pursuit of gaiety and amusement become that public-spirited citizens periodically denounced this apparent indifference to the suffering and hardships endured by soldiers at the front. Even a foreign observer, the correspondent for the London *Times,* expressed his disgust in 1863:

> There is something saddening, indeed revolting, in the high glee, real or affected, with which the people here look upon what ought to be . . . a grievous national calamity. The indulgence in every variety of pleasure, luxury, and extravagence is simply shocking. The jewelers' shops in all these cities have doubled or trebled their trade; the love of fine dresses and ornaments on the part of women amounts to madness. They have the money, well or ill gotten, and must enjoy it. Every fresh bulletin from the battlefield of Chickamauga during my three weeks' stay in Cincinnati brought a long list of the dead and wounded . . . many of whom, of the officers, belonged to the best families in the place. Yet the signs of mourning were hardly anywhere perceptible; the noisy gayety of the town was not abated one jot.

A New York editor registered the same complaint a year later: "Who at the North would ever think of war, if he had not a friend in the army, or did not read the newspapers? Go into Broadway and we will show you what is meant by the word 'extravagance.'" From Washington a Springfield *Republican* correspondent complained, "At present Washington is mad with gayety, reeling in the whirl

Andrew Carnegie
(Dictionary of American Portraits)

The New York Stock Exchange
(Harpers)



John D. Rockefeller
(Library of Congress)

Broadway, the scene of New York City's wartime gaiety.
(*Library of Congress*)

of dissipation, before it sits down to repent in the ashes of Lent. There are three or four grand parties a night; theaters, operas, fairs, everything to make its denizens forget that war and sorrow are in the land." Frederick W. Seward, son of the Secretary of State, noted that "Gayety has become as epidemic in Washington as gloom was last winter. . . . A year ago the secretary of state was 'heartless' or 'unpatriotic' because he gave dinners; now the only complaint of him is that he don't have dancing."

Most critics agreed that the presence of so many newly-made fortunes was to blame for this spectacle of self-indulgence. The editor of the Providence *Journal* chided those "who have made more in a week or in a month than they are accustomed to gain in a year . . . it is such men and women that are in especial danger of rushing into extravagance as unbecoming the state of our country as it is injurious." William Cullen Bryant of the New York *Evening Post* thundered, "Extravagance, luxury, these are the signs of the times; are they not evidence of a state of things unhealthy, feverish . . .? What business have Americans at any time with such vain show . . .? But especially how can they justify it to themselves in this time of war? Some men have gained great fortunes during the past two or three years, but that does not excuse their extravagance."

This rampant gaiety did not infect rural areas, where the workday was always long and sources of amusement few. There life went on much as it had before the war. There were church socials, husking bees, barn dances, and the ever popular county fairs. Some counties found the fair tough going, especially early in the war. An Ohio newspaper lamented in 1861 that the Crawford County fair "was in one particular a success, and in another, a failure. Financially, it was a success, as the attendance was almost as large as usual. . . . But the exhibition was a failure. A number of those who have heretofore taken an interest in the institution, were opposed to holding a Fair this season, and . . . threw cold water upon the enterprise."

Religious revivals or camp meetings, accompanied by picnics and other festivities, sometimes enlivened rural communities for a week or more. Many a small town possessed an "opry" house that never saw an opera but welcomed touring lecturers, dramatic companies, or minstrel shows. Occasionally a traveling circus might wend its way through the countryside, thrilling farm folk with its exotic menagerie of animals and freaks. No event rivaled the celebration of national holidays like the Fourth of July. Families gathered from miles around to enjoy patriotic oratory, fireworks, barbeques, games, and dancing, usually accompanied by generous swigs from jugs of whis-

William Cullen Bryant
(New York Historical Society)

The Great Russian Ball at the Academy of Music, November 5, 1863.
(The Graphic Art of Winslow Homer)

key or hard cider. Sports too had their place. Young men played baseball or competed in foot races, wrestling, and shooting matches.

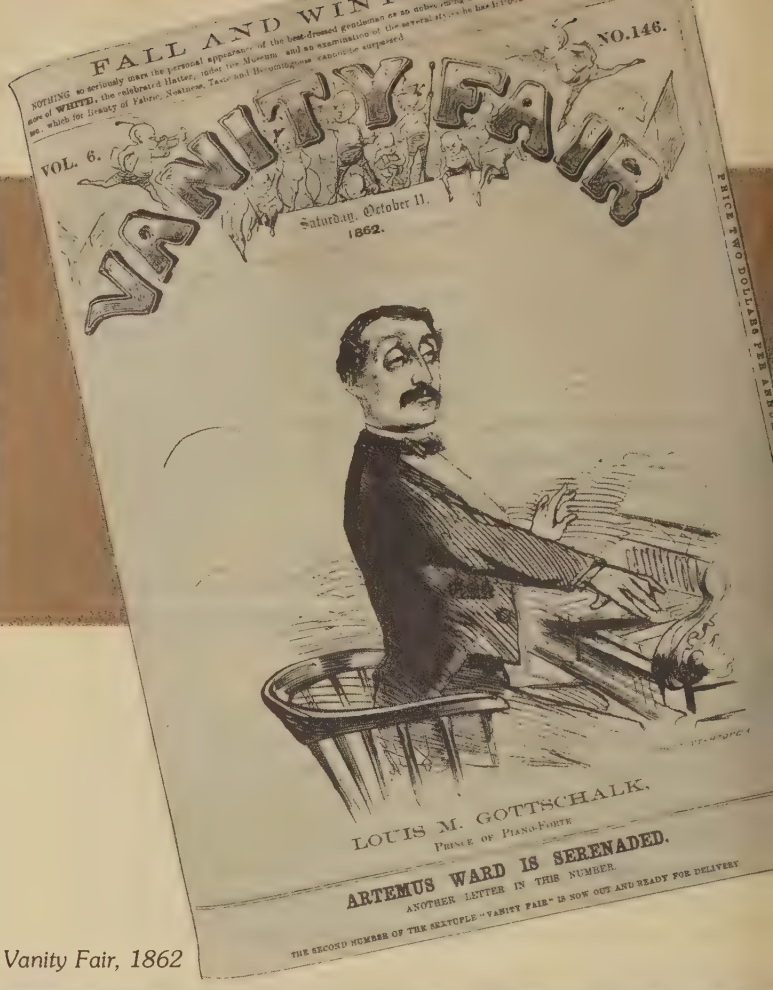
Rural folk who contented themselves with these pleasures hardly reveled in extravagance or self-indulgence. Even in small towns the standards of gaiety remained modest. In 1862 an English journalist visited Racine, Wisconsin, and concluded that "The amusements of Racine are about as limited as if it stood in our midland counties. Judging from the posters of ancient date which hung upon the walls, a passing circus, an itinerant exhibition of Ethiopian minstrels, and an occasional concert, were all the entertainments afforded to the inhabitants. . . . Society in Racine is still in a primitive stage. Dinner-parties are unknown, and balls are events of great rarity; but tea parties, to which you are invited on the morning of the day, are of constant occurrence."

City life offered far more varied and sophisticated amusements. As always the upper class set the standards and indulged themselves most freely. Few wartime shortages interrupted their pleasures. The loss of southern cotton hampered the textile mills and caused a shortage of paper; sorghum and maple sugar were substituted for sugar; and chicory seed replaced coffee; tobacco was in short supply; and high taxes on whiskey drove the poorer classes to drinking more beer. Otherwise life went on much as before. As Constance McLaughlin Green said of the nation's capital, "For most Washingtonians this bloodiest, bitterest war the United States ever fought changed every-day routines very little."

In every city dinners, receptions, and elegant parties occupied fashionable people. Picnics became the rage in New York; then roller-skating made its appearance in 1863 and the city's social denizens seized upon it as a pleasure which they hoped to confine to "the educated and refined classes." Ice skating lightened the tedium of winter, and the first hot breath of summer sent people fleeing to Newport, Saratoga, and other watering holes. There too the tone of life drove more sensitive spirits to despair. A Boston reporter at Saratoga grumbled, "Of fashions here there is no end. Indeed it makes one's heart sick to see the folly which reigns triumphant. . . . What the women spend in dress, the men spend in 'liquoring up,' until they can't stand, in horses and in gambling."

Every major city had its lyceums and lecture halls, and in New York grand opera imported from Europe enjoyed a vogue at the Academy of Music. Pianist Louis Moreau Gottschalk drew huge audiences for his concerts, and in every city crowds packed the theatres night after night. Comedies were the staple fare, both in high-tone

Corn Husking in New England
(The Graphic Art of Winslow Homer)


FALL AND WIN
NO. 146.
VOL. 6.
VANITY FAIR
Saturday, October 11,
1862.
LOUIS M. GOTTSCHALK,
Prince of Piano-Forte
ARTEMUS WARD IS SERENADED.
ANOTHER LETTER IN THIS NUMBER.
THE SECOND NUMBER OF THE SERIES OF "VANITY FAIR" IS NOW OUT AND READY FOR DELIVERY

Vanity Fair, 1862

Ice skating in Central Park
(Currier and Ives)

Not everyone was swept up in the party atmosphere that surrounded most Northern cities during the war. Many, like these women, sewed clothes for the men at the front. *(Harpers)*

playhouses such as Wallack's or Niblo's Gardens in New York, and in lower class theatres like those in the Bowery where enthusiastic audiences gathered to yell and whistle, cheer and hiss, munch peanuts and spit tobacco juice. Although the rage for comedy reflected a desire to escape the war for a few hours, dramas based upon recent battles also proved popular. One energetic producer opened a play about Bull Run within a month of the battle, and later engagements were put on the stage by adapting a standard script to each occasion.

Besides theatre, New York offered three different minstrel shows, dance halls, beer gardens, and "The American" on Broadway — an emporium where men only could smoke and drink and enjoy "the feast of reason and the flow of soul." Broadway veteran recalled that "Ten years ago, girls danced here in a state of nudity; but the authorities have now effectually put down such exhibitions."

P.T. Barnum's American Museum, with its West Indian snakes and fish, whale, hippopotamus, giant and giantess, and other exotica, offered New Yorkers titillation of another kind. Imitators in other cities drew large crowds, and Barnum sent to the rest of the North his traveling circus, the Grand Colossal Museum and Managerie, with curiosities borrowed from the American Museum and animals gathered from every corner of the world.

Sports also flourished during the war years. Horse racing, once the province of southern and border states, attracted a great following. New tracks opened in Chicago, Boston, and Washington to help form a racing circuit with tracks in St. Louis, Hartford, Louisville, Philadelphia, Saratoga, Paterson, and elsewhere. Prize-fighting, although illegal in most places, created intense interest among the "less refined classes." An epic fight between two noted Irish pugilists, Coburn and McCool, took place only ten days and a hundred miles distance from the battle of Chancellorsville and nearly upstaged that bloody struggle. Amidst a carnival-like atmosphere and heavy wagering, Coburn flattened his rival after 61 rounds of bare-fisted pounding.

Clearly amusements offered a counterpoint to anxiety and uncertainty. But the stark contrasts of gaiety and vulgar prosperity in a time of national tragedy was too much for concerned observers. In 1863 the New York *Herald* threw up its hands in despair and proclaimed, "The world has seen its iron age, its silver age, its golden age and its brazen age. This is the age of shoddy." The term struck a vital nerve and was widely used. In that sense life in the North had set the stage for the excesses that would characterize the postwar Gilded Age.

Yet large numbers of people kept the sorrows of war before them and did what they could to ameliorate their suffering. Women joined relief societies to provide clothing, bandages, and amenities for soldiers, and many served as nurses. More than two hundred hospitals serviced the sick and wounded, sanitary commissions tried to improve conditions in camps, and homes for the disabled were opened. National charities appeared on the scene for the first time in American history, while state and local charities increased their efforts to assist those afflicted by the exigencies of war. Many communities organized fairs, exhibitions, concerts, and other activities to raise money for relief work. Religious organizations sent Bibles, pámphlets, and missionaries to troops in the field. Efforts were made in most towns to care for the families of soldiers either absent or dead. Philanthropists filled some of the gaps left by organizations.

The intense sympathy aroused by the sufferings of war extended to peacetime charities, many of which underwent a resurgence in funds and volunteers during the war years. The "age of shoddy" represented one side of northern life; this widespread expression of sympathy and eagerness to help shoulder the burden reflected quite another. The contrasts were stark and jarring. They amounted to a sort of national schizophrenia. For a people caught up in the largest, bloodiest, and most immediate war in their history, it could not be otherwise.

The city of Richmond
(Keane Archives)

Life in the South

The Civil War conferred a unique legacy upon southerners: they became the only Americans ever to lose a war and suffer military occupation by the enemy. As losers of that struggle southerners inevitably underwent different wartime experiences than the winners; but of course there was much more to the story than that. The South differed radically from the North, as a region and as a culture. As Senator Lewis T. Wigfall told English journalist William H. Russell:

> We are a peculiar people, sir! You don't understand us . . . because we are known to you only by Northern writers and Northern papers. . . . We are an agricultural people; we are a primitive but a civilized people. We have no cities — we don't want them. . . . We have no commercial navy — no navy — we don't want them. . . . We want no manufactures: we desire no trading, no mechanical or manufacturing classes. As long as we have our rice, our sugar, our tobacco, and our cotton, we can command wealth to produce all we want from those nations with which we are in amity, and to lay up money besides.

Unfortunately for the South, most of its "peculiarities" worked against it during the war. A population of 9 million (compared to the North's 22 million) included 3.5 million black slaves who would serve as laborers but not as soldiers. As a region it produced less than 10 per cent of the nation's industrial goods. The South lacked not only factories but skilled labor, machinery, foundries, shipping, and a reliable transportation system. Although its culture was far more homogeneous and close-knit than the North's and less ethnically diverse, it was not unified. An exaggerated sense of individualism, which found political expression in the state rights philosophy, undermined the war effort with endless divisions and rancor. Finally, the South was an overwhelmingly rural region, a fact which heightened its people's sense of isolation and uncertainty as the war went on.

The war was fought almost entirely on southern soil. Invading troops, as well as military engagements, caused great destruction and loss of property (including slaves), some violence to civilians, and military occupation. Many southerners avoided this last humiliation by fleeing from advancing Federal troops. Thousands became refugees, trudging toward Texas or some remote corner of the Confederacy alongside wagons laden with their dearest possessions. Those who returned home after the war often found the destruction to their property more severe than that suffered by those who elected to remain behind. Like refugees in every war, they endured great hardships and found little comfort at their journey's end. Kate Stone, who fled with her family to Tyler, Texas, from their Louisiana plantation in 1863, complained bitterly that "The more we see of people, the less we like them, and every refugee we have seen feels the same way. They call us *renegades* in Tyler. It is strange the prejudice that exists all through the state against refugees."

Invading armies did more than cause hardship. They disrupted the South's war effort and transformed difficult problems into insurmountable ones. Portions of the border states, Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland, Tennessee, the Sea Islands off the Florida Gulf coast, and the vital port of New Orleans fell early into Federal hands. The surrender of Vicksburg in 1863 gave the North possession of the Mississippi River and cut the Confederacy in half. As more territory fell into northern hands, problems of supply, transportation, and communication mounted steadily. The invading armies shattered not only the South's ability to wage war but also its morale. Sherman's devastating march through Georgia in 1864 provided the most conspicuous example of this twin effect.

The South's resources for waging a major war were modest at best. Its economy depended upon the sale of staple crops abroad, but the northern blockade cut off that vital market almost entirely in 1862. Agriculture alone could scarcely sustain a nation engaged in modern warfare, and comparatively little industry had developed in the South. Although factories could be found in several towns, few could produce heavy industrial goods or meet

Senator Lewis T. Wigfall
(Mathew Brady Collection)

Sherman's advance as he marched through Georgia.
(*Harper's Weekly, August 13, 1864*)

Black refuges fleeing from advancing armies.
(*Library of Congress*)

Tredegar Iron Works
before and after the Union bombardment.

(Both photographs: Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia)

the voracious demands of wartime. The South was rich in raw materials but made almost no machine tools, steel, rails, munitions, sewing machines, or other necessities of war. The Tredegar Iron Works in Richmond remained the South's most important industrial plant — and an important reason for defending Richmond at all costs.

An inadequate transportation system complicated the problem of supply. The South's river system ran mostly north-south while the Confederacy's supply lines ran east-west. In 1861 the section possessed about 9,000 miles of railroad (compared with the North's 22,000 miles), most of it lightly built and poorly equipped. The Pennsylvania and Erie railroads alone owned almost as many locomotives as the entire Confederacy, and the South lacked the means to improve or even maintain its system. As Captain F.W. Sims, the railroad coordinator lamented in February 1865, "not a single bar of railroad iron has been rolled in the Confederacy since the war [began]. . . ." That left only horse and wagon, but the South's roads were in terrible shape and the army had first claim on the supply of animals and wagons.

These and other problems forced the South to fight the war on a shoestring, which meant that civilians no less than soldiers had to exert their utmost if the cause was to succeed. More than sacrifice was involved. The overwhelming fact of life in the Confederacy was the perpetual struggle against shortages. Nearly everything was in short supply and grew more so as the war progressed. Shortages caused some problems and compounded others into a vicious circle of privation and improvisation which taxed the ingenuity of southerners, strained their morale, and ultimately doomed their cause.

Most southerners made far greater sacrifices than their northern counterparts, not from superior virtue but because they had no choice. The war intruded upon their lives to a degree unknown in the North. It compelled them to endure constant privation, intense suffering, and the anguish of personal losses made in the shadow of impending defeat. Their reward was not victory but the destruction of their civilization and its way of life.

The wiser among them recognized early the South's fatal weakness in depending upon outside suppliers "for

Railroad roundhouse in Atlanta, Georgia.
(Library of Congress)

Feeding the poor in New Orleans.
(Harper's Pictorial History of the Civil War)

everything from a hair-pin to a toothpick, and from a cradle to a coffin." But the euphoria of war excitement lulled most southerners into early complacency. "It is perfectly surprising how well we get along without Yankee notions," proclaimed the Charleston *Mercury* two months after the outbreak of hostilities. "It is surprising how little we really needed, or should have bought their jim-crackeries. . . . We can supply every want as well as every need at home."

It took only a few more months to prove the folly of that statement. Shortages appeared first as inconveniences and turned quickly into severe hardships. The loss of cities and territory to invading armies aggravated the supply problem, as did the inevitable evils of hoarding and speculation. Loss of the Mississippi River isolated one half of the Confederacy and its productivity from the other. The naval blockade had the most devastating impact of all. Even within secure portions of the Confederacy, the overtaxed transportation system could not cope with the demands thrust upon it. The government's effort to solve the transportation problem deserved the criticism that "no department was worse neglected and mismanaged."

Southern railroads lacked sufficient locomotives, rolling stock, iron rail, and other equipment to service the region adequately in normal times, let alone provide for military and pressing supply needs. Equipment deteriorated under constant use and could not be replaced. Neither Tredegar nor smaller iron works could produce both locomotives and arms, and the latter had priority. Few cars were made, no rails were rolled, and both tools and skilled labor were scarce. Travel in the South became more horrendous than usual and came to a virtual standstill by mid-1864. Nor was travel by road any better. The government conscripted not only men but horses, mules, wagons, and carriages as well. Civilians were usually left the most decrepit animals and vehicles. According to one observer, a Richmond teamster changing horses merely "changed one skeleton for another."

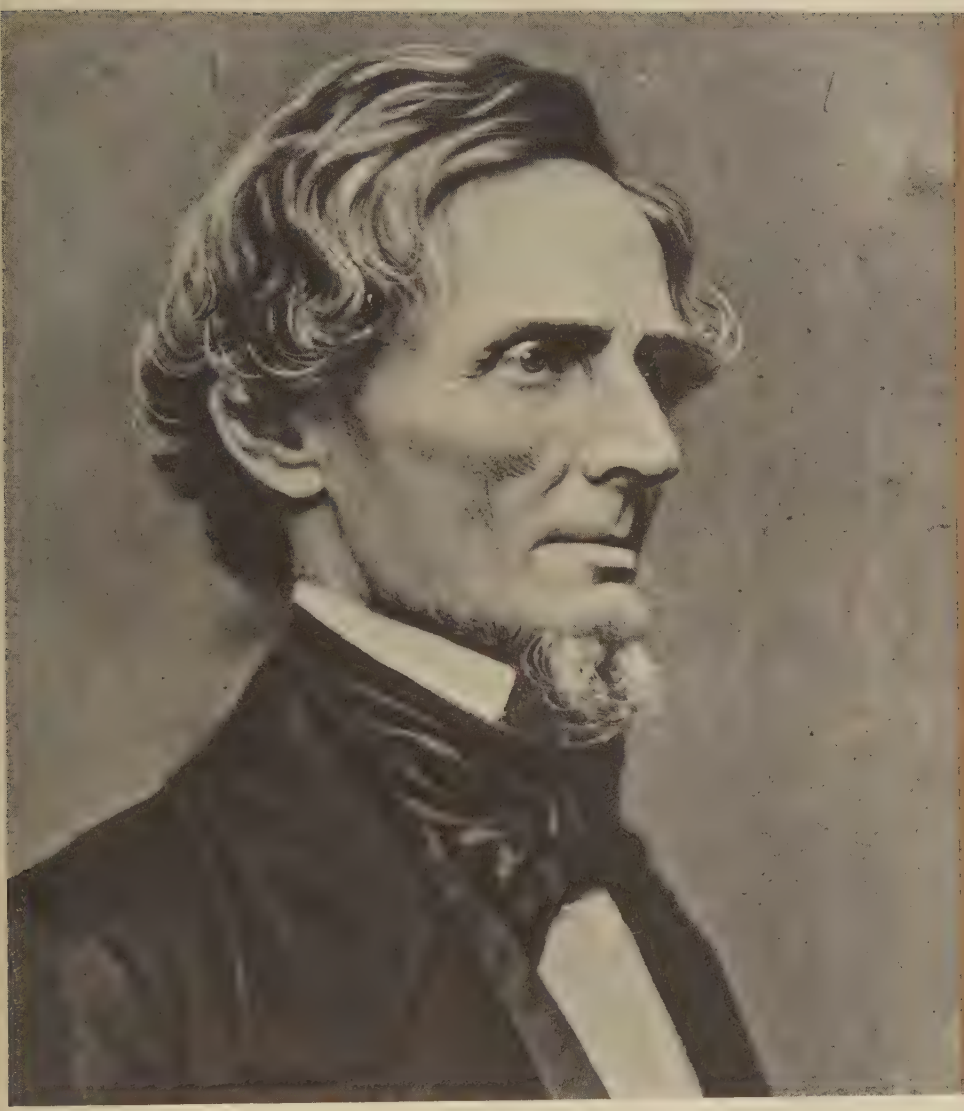
These same shortages plagued industry and agriculture as well. The South's few factories lacked iron, lubricating

William Ludwell Sheppard's watercolor "In the Hospital, 1861," shows the early wartime spirit of Southern women who volunteered to work with the wounded. *(Virginia State Library)*

oils, nails, screws, new parts to replace worn ones, even containers and sacks, and of course skilled labor. Available supplies disappeared quickly, little more could be produced, the military had first claim on what was produced, and effective substitutes could not always be found. Farms and plantations suffered not only the loss of draft animals but basic tools and implements, harnesses and saddles, rope, barrels, tubs, and kegs, and even such simple items as buckets and troughs.

Despite strenuous efforts to patch up old equipment and find substitute materials, factory and farm production dwindled steadily because of shortages. Even the elements conspired against farmers; droughts, floods, late freezes, and disease crippled food production in parts of the region during the war years. As in the North, women replaced men absent at the front, either running plantations or toiling in the fields of smaller farms. "Measuring corn, weighing shucks, and soaking wheat is a new business for me," wrote the mistress of a small North Carolina plantation in 1862. She had to supervise the planting, harvesting, and storing of crops, raising and slaughtering of hogs, wood cutting, spinning, weaving, and clothes making, as well as care for her two children and her slaves. Some women bore the enormous burden of work and responsibility nobly; others staggered under the load. One Georgia woman, left with a farm and four small children to tend, wrote her husband in 1862, "I am so tired for I never get any rest night or day, and I don't think I will last much longer."

Fires and war damage intensified these shortages. Natural conflagrations, and those touched off by shelling, destroyed vital factories, warehouses, and businesses. The



Jefferson Davis,
President of the Confederacy.
(National Archives)

fall of Nashville in 1862 cost the South an important industrial center just as the devastation of the Shenandoah Valley blighted the Confederacy's primary breadbasket. A fire lasting several days destroyed much of Charleston in December 1861, while smaller blazes consumed a Richmond warehouse filled with flour and the Bath Paper Mills in North Carolina. Another fire in 1863 severely damaged the Tredegar Iron Works and Crenshaw Woolen Mills in Richmond. Such losses could not be replaced and caused serious declines in production.

The South ran short of every necessity of life. Perhaps the war's cruelest irony was the spectacle of an agricultural nation unable to feed itself decently. Southern fire eaters had proclaimed cotton to be king, but cotton proved a poor monarch. It could not be eaten, nor could it be sold to obtain provisions. Although some cities, notably Memphis and New Orleans, developed a lively trade in contraband cotton, the Confederacy was reduced to burning large quantities of cotton to prevent its capture by Union armies. A small Tennessee planter, watching Confederate troops burn his bales, mourned, "It was a sad thing to behold a body of armed men to roll out a man's whole dependence for money and the support of his family before his eyes, and cut it open and stick fire to it and he dare not open his mouth."

With their staple crops cut off from market, southerners shifted more of their land into food production. Yet even that did not alleviate the problem, for several reasons already mentioned: bad weather, lack of labor, tools, and even seed, loss of acreage to enemy armies, and inability to transport food supplies to where they were needed. Many people went hungry, and some were near starvation

A Northern artist's imagined scene of the Richmond Bread Riot.
(Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 1863)

by the war's end. Areas near the front or in the line of advancing armies suffered worst as foraging troops from both sides picked these regions clean.

Cities also felt acute shortages as the transportation system broke down and neighboring farmers, fearing impressment, withheld their produce. Shortages of feed and salt created an acute lack of meat. Since the salt problem was never adequately solved, pork and beef could not be preserved in any quantity even where it existed. Fish and fowl ran short as the demand increased while hunters and fishermen scrounged for ammunition and tackle. In desperation people turned to every available substitute, including mule meat, rats, and occasional household pets.

One resident of Richmond marveled at the city's cleanliness, "everything being so cleanly consumed that no garbage or filth can accumulate." He quoted President Davis as approving the consumption of rats because they were "as good as squirrels." Ladies circulated recipes for them. In besieged Vicksburg they were standard fare; one lady saw them "hanging dressed in the market for sale . . . there is nothing else." Mule meat was more popular but also more expensive. In Savannah a furor arose over some men accused of butchering dogs and selling them as lamb.

Besides the persistent meat and salt problem, southerners ran short of many staples, including most fats: butter, oil, lard, and mayonnaise. The absence of two items, sugar and coffee, drew the loudest complaints. The sugar supply dwindled after the fall of New Orleans in 1862. Sorghum made a passable substitute, and prompted one lady to observe that "a history of the 'Southern Confederacy' would be incomplete without . . . mention of sorghum." No decent substitute for coffee was ever found, although southerners tried chicory, corn, rye, okra seed, peanuts, even sweet potatoes.

Lack of flour caused a shortage of bread, leading to the invention of "Secession Bread" made with rice flour. Fresh fruits and vegetables, condiments, flavorings, vinegar, baking soda, tea, and milk were among other items in short supply. In Richmond and other cities people kept gardens to assure themselves some fresh vegetables. Government clerk J.B. Jones noted of his own lot that "Every inch of ground is in cultivation — even the ash heap is covered all over with tomato vines." Yet in July 1863 Jones confided to his diary, "We are in a half-starving condition. I have lost twenty pounds and my wife and children are emaciated to some extent." By January 1865 he had grown desperate enough to write, "What I fear is starvation."

Everywhere southerners tried to ease the hunger that nagged at them. Young people in Richmond formed the "Starvation Club" which offered nourishment for the spirit if not the body: "money was contributed . . . for the music required for dancing; but all refreshments were strictly forbidden, and the only expense to the generous host . . . was an extra fire in the rear parlor, then not in every-day use, from the scarcity and high price of fuel." But gaiety did not always dispel the demons. In April 1863 a large crowd of women and children rioted for food and looted stores until troops and pleas by President Davis dispersed them. The "Bread Riots" so shocked the government that it asked the Richmond press "to avoid all reference directly or indirectly to the affair."

Clothing, housing, medicine, and household effects of every kind were as scarce as food. The term "substitute" came to tyrannize the lives of southerners. According to one estimate, southern women were compelled to "manufacture or devise a substitute for three-fourths of the articles in common use." Another observed that

> If that era of home life had to be characterized by one word, there could be no choice as to the term 'substitute.' . . . There was hardly a tree or a plant that did not in the long run furnish a substitute, being laid under tribute to feed or clothe the people, or to cure their ailments.

The list ran well beyond trees and plants. When their wardrobes could be patched no longer, women resorted to everything from drapes to carpets. As one bit of doggeral ran, "Let me whisper: this dress, that I now wear for thee,/ Was a curtain of old, in Philadelphee!" The lack of shoes affected civilians almost as much as soldiers; inventive southerners used horsehide, dogskin, deerskin, pigskin, wood, and leather from worn articles and even book bindings. As clothing grew short, women took up spinning, weaving, and knitting with a vengeance. In 1862 one patriotic girl wrote a popular ditty entitled "Homespun Dress" which included these lines:

> My homespun dress is plain, I know;
> My hat's palmetto, too;
> But then it shows what Southern girls
> For Southern rights will do.

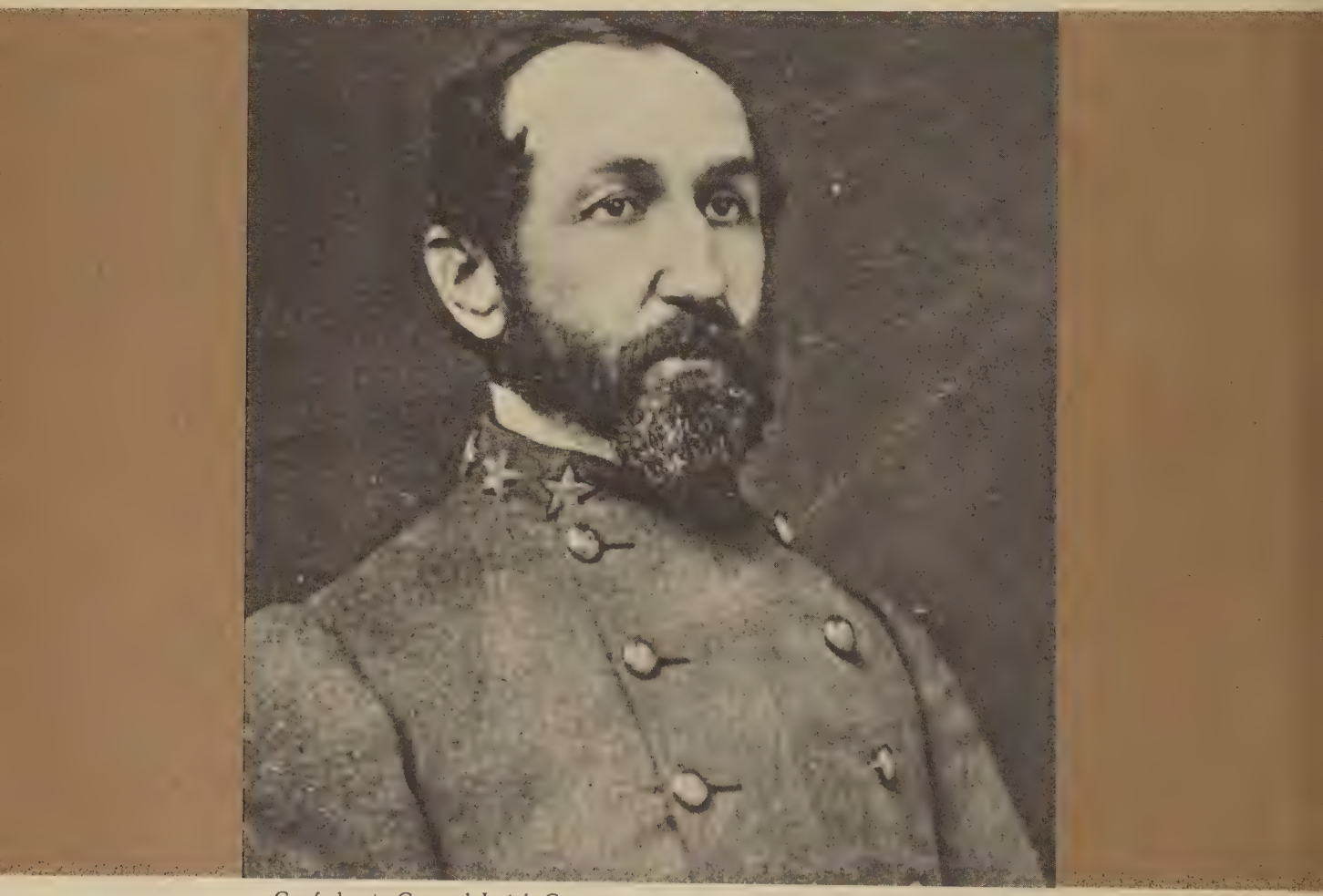
The shortage of drugs and medicines, especially quinine, caused great hardship in a region susceptible to fever epidemics. By 1864 quinine cost $100 an ounce in Louisiana when it could be obtained at all. One planter immunized his slaves from smallpox with the vaccination scabs from his own family. In their desperate search for substitutes people turned to nostrums of every kind, especially herbs. "The woods . . . were . . . our drug store," declared one southerner. A book entitled *Resources of Southern Fields and Forests,* published in 1863 by Dr. Francis Porcher, became popular, but in the end no reliable substitutes for quinine, morphine, and chloroform

were found. Doctors too were hard to find, many having joined the army. As Mary Elizabeth Massey concluded, "Imaginary ills were about all that could have been cured with Confederate medicines."

Ordinary household needs, like candles, matches, utensils, linens, soap, bedding, furnishings, dishware, kettles, oil and gas for lighting, coal and wood for heating and cutlery, were no less scarce. Lack of paper crippled newspapers and forced them to resort to wallpaper or anything they could obtain. Some editions appeared in every color of the rainbow, while others suspended publication for want of paper or ink. Publishers and magazines also closed down. No item was too small to run short. Needles grew precious and were carefully preserved, as were pins. In April 1863 J.B. Jones noted that "Pins are so scarce and costly, that it is now pretty general practice to stoop down and pick up any found in the street."

The twin evils of inflation and profiteering aggravated the problem of shortages. As always scarcity drove the price of commodities up, especially in cities. Even worse, the value of Confederate money declined as its gold supply vanished and the exigencies of war compelled the government to crank out ever more paper money. In January 1862 it took $120 in Confederate currency to buy $100 in gold. That figure soared to $1,800 in January 1864, $3,400 in January 1865, and $5,500 by the time of Appomattox. By the end of 1863 about $730 million in Confederate notes circulated; during the last two years of war that amount more than doubled.

Skyrocketing prices hurt everyone, especially wage earners and those on fixed salaries. Robert Kean, a government employee, complained in October 1863 that "My salary of $3000 goes about as far as $300 would in ordinary times in purchasing all the articles of household necessity. . . . There is already great suffering among clerks, who get $1500." A few months later J.B. Jones



Confederate General Josiah Gorgas.
(Library of Congress)

wrote, "With flour at $200 a barrel, meal $20 per bushel and meat from $2 to $5 a pound what income would suffice?" By 1865 flour had gone past $1,000 a barrel, meal $100 a bushel, and bacon $20 a pound. Poor people suffered grievously, but public opinion turned against attempts by workers to strike for higher wages. The government responded by drafting strikers into the army.

Profiteering took its toll, although few businessmen reaped fortunes from government contracts. Clement Eaton explained why: "Government contracts had many disadvantages which deterred businessmen from seeking them. Notably the failure of the government to pay its bills." Yet enough occurred to prompt General Josiah Gorgas to complain in 1863 that "The sins of the people of Charleston may cause that city to fall; it is full of rotteness, every one being engaged in speculation." A year later a Catholic chaplain in Lee's army confided, "Never had I seen such avariciousness as that displayed throughout my travels, but more particularly in Georgia. Money and negroes appeared to be their gods."

As inflation worsened, many people resorted to barter. In New Orleans a woman swapped her $600 bonnet for

While these Confederate soldiers prayed to be delivered from battle, others accused the folks at home of worshipping money. *(Library of Congress)*

five turkeys. Doctors took provisions for treatment and schools for tuition. Newpapers were filled with notices like the following from the Savannah *Republican:*

> I will barter salt from my salt factory for produce on the following terms: salt, 50 pounds per bushel; 4 bushels salt for 5 bushels of corn and peas; 1 bushel salt for 5 pounds of lard or bacon; 2 bushels salt for 7 pounds of sugar; 10 bushels of salt for a barrel of 'super' flour; 2 bushels of salt for 1 pr. of shoes.

One observer declared that in 1864 and 1865 bartering was the "best mode of getting supplies and those . . . [with] things to barter fare well."

The atmosphere of privation pervaded every corner of southern life. Higher education lacked students as well as materials. When no students appeared to begin the fall term at Centenary College in October 1861, the faculty secretary noted, "Students have all gone to war. College suspended: and God help the right." Other colleges, especially men's colleges, either closed down or struggled on despite declining enrollments.

Lower schools had a hard time keeping teachers and getting books and supplies. "I have the military fever very strong," one North Carolina teacher told his superintendent. Where possible women replaced men in the classroom, but several schools simply closed. A North Carolinian reported in 1862, "We have 4 or 5 female teachers in this county but not one male." Those schools

Southern women making clothes for their men at the front.
(Duke University)

remaining open often received new textbooks infused with patriotism. An arithmetic primer published in 1864 contained such problems as, "If one Confederate soldier can whip 7 Yankees, how many soldiers can whip 49 Yankees?" Rural districts suffered most from closing schools, as a Virginian lamented in January 1865:

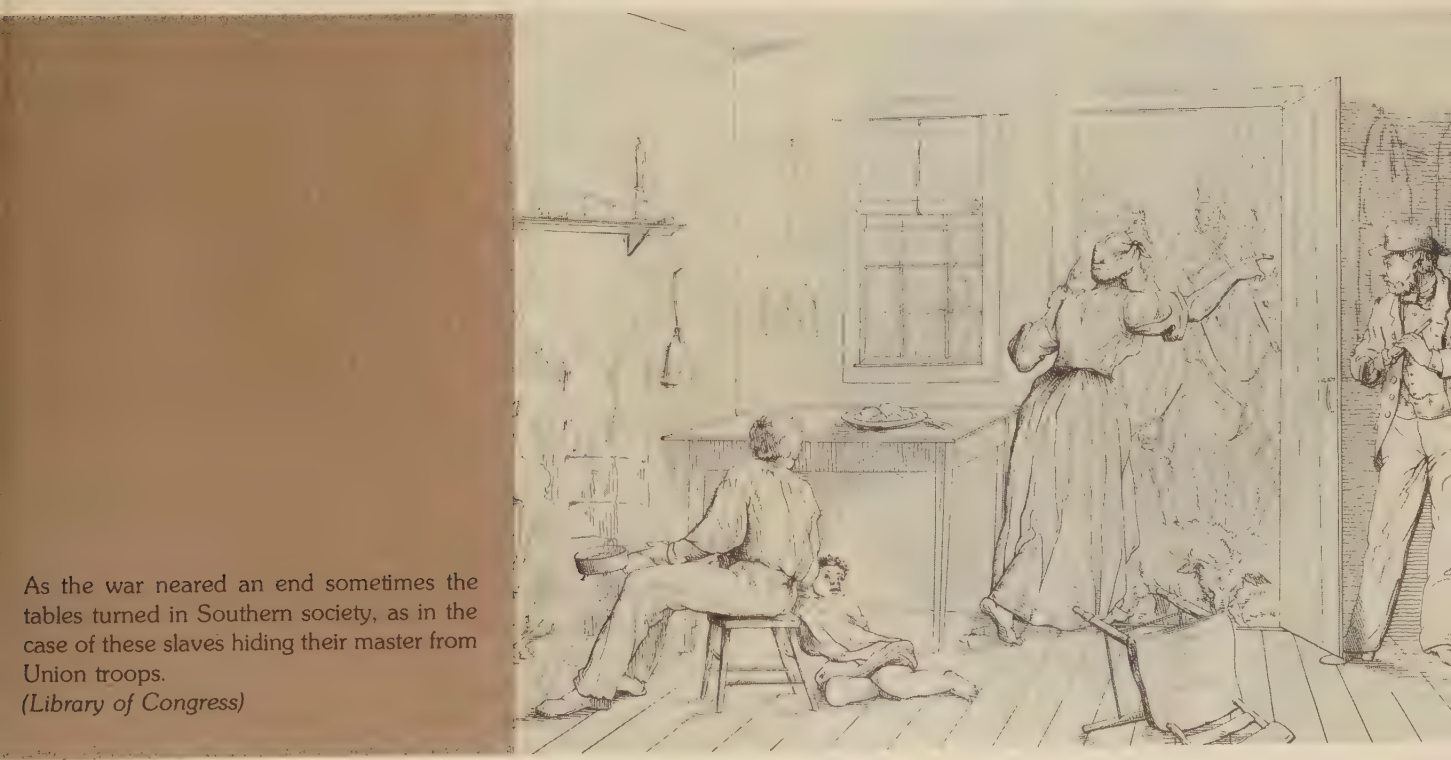
> I have in a neighborhood where there are many children . . . growing up in ignorance, there having been no school in this part of the district since the winter of 1860 & 61 . . . . The few persons able to school their children have sent them out of the district & thereby left it entirely in ignorance.

Amusements and entertainments were also hard to come by, and relied upon improvisation. The prohibition laws adopted by most states to conserve grain put a decided crimp in the pleasures of many people. Substitutes made as poor a showing as they were to make in the 1930's; one diarist complained in January 1862 that the Christmas eggnog was made "of borrowed whiskey with a strong flavor of turpentine." Country folk amused themselves in much the same ways they always had, except that lack of ammunition curtailed hunting and scarcity of horses put a damper on racing. Traveling shows had seldom come to the rural South anyway because of its sparse population. The larger towns received an occasional troupe of minstrels, tumblers, magicians, or solo performers like "Blind Tom," the celebrated black pianist. Many communities put on their own entertainments, often as war benefits. One such show in Uniontown, Alabama, charged for admission "$2 or a pair of socks."

Even the larger cities offered little of the gaiety or glitter found in the North. Theatre struggled to remain afloat despite the turmoil of war. In Montgomery, Alabama, the local theatre ran a full schedule of thirteen shows as late as 1864, while in Richmond two years earlier a newspaper had mourned that "The legitimate Drama has been laid on the shelf." Dinner parties went on despite lack of provisions, and there were occasional concerts, balls, and parties. The social ritual of visiting and the usual parlor entertainments continued, but the war cast its gloom even there. "We all tried to be gay, but our hearts were inwardly sad," recalled Senator Thomas J. Semmes of Louisiana. "There was the usual visiting . . . but the old brilliancy and fire were fast ebbing away."

Southerners found it difficult to escape into gaiety, especially when, as in Richmond, the horrors of war pressed so near. Constance Cary Harrison recalled the scene in that city after the battle of Seven Pines in 1862:

> During the night began the ghastly procession of wounded brought in from the field. Every vehicle the city could produce supplemented the military ambulences. . . .



As the war neared an end sometimes the tables turned in Southern society, as in the case of these slaves hiding their master from Union troops.
(Library of Congress)

> All next day, women with white faces flitted bareheaded through the streets and hospitals looking for their own. Churches and lecture-rooms were thrown open for volunteer ladies sewing and filling the rough beds called for by the surgeons. There was not enough of *anything* to meet the sudden appalling call of many strong men stricken unto death. . . . We tramped down Main Street through the hot sun over burning pavements from one scene of horror to another, bringing up finally at the St. Charles Hotel, a large old building. What a sight met our eyes! Men in every stage of mutilation, lying waiting for the surgeons upon bare boards. . . . Some gave up the weary ghost as we passed them by. All were suffering keenly and needed ordinary attention. . . .
>
> The impression of that day was ineffaceable. It left me permanently convinced that nothing is worth war!

Tragedy and sorrow came in many forms. A brief entry in the diary of Mary Boykin Chesnut offered one poignant example late in 1863: "Mrs. Rooney Lee is dead. One of her babies died too. She was not twenty-three. He is a prisoner still."

The incessant ordeal of sacrifice and sorrow gradually wore down southern morale. As the bloody conflict dragged on, the bravura and excitement of 1861 gave way to anxiety and then despair. Even southern women, who had done so much to stiffen the backbone of resistance with their determination, began to lose heart. They endured not only work and hardship but mental anguish. One woman who had five sons in the army confessed in 1864, "I lie awake night after night, count each stroke of the clock, dread both night and day, tremble to open a letter." One woman lost all seven of her sons in the war, another lost five, and a third had four sons killed at Gettysburg.

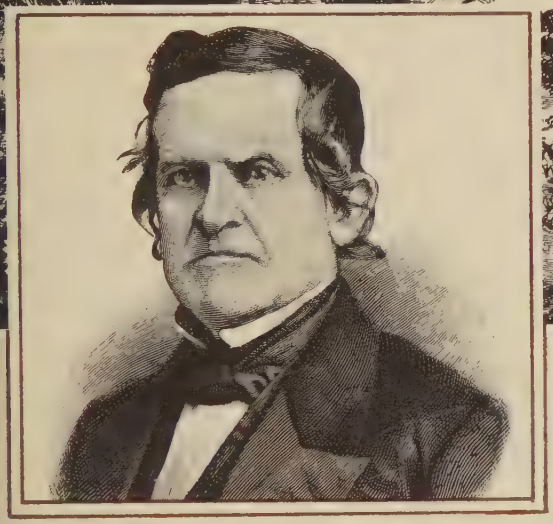
Mary Boykin Chesnut.
(A Diary from Dixie)

Some bore their pain and continued to support the cause. But by 1864, when shortages had grown acute and northern troops had penetrated deep into the South, many women pleaded with their sons and husbands to desert and come home. The effect of their letters upon army morale was devastating. Even women of high station lost the will to resist. Mary Boykin Chesnut wondered in July 1864, "Is anything worth it — this fearful sacrifice; this awful penalty we pay for war?" Mrs. Roger A. Pryor, an officer's wife, admitted that "I am for a tidal wave of peace — and I am not alone."

Religion helped many people sustain their courage. Although a majority of southerners were not church members in 1860, most of them were Christians. All the denominations and their clergy staunchly supported the Confederate cause, and periodic revivals swept up thousands of soldiers and civilians alike in dedication to God and to what Governor Pickens of South Carolina called "a holy war." Mary Boykin Chesnut came away from church one Sunday exclaiming, "What a sermon! The preacher stirred my blood. . . . A red hot glow of patriotism spread through me." English correspondent William H. Russell declared that "Southern faith is indomitable." At least one Confederate general thought this religious zeal exerted too blinding an effect upon political and military issues. "I can only account for it," Edward Porter Alexander wrote years later, "in the general religious character of our people. They believed in a God who . . . in the end brought the right to prevail. They *knew* they were right & they were! It was only waiting on God, a little more or less."

One other anxiety preyed upon southern minds during the war. As Mary Boykin Chesnut observed in 1865, "The fidelity of the Negroes is the principal topic everywhere." Recalling the bloodbath in Santo Domingo, southerners were haunted by the spectre of slave insurrections. But on the whole blacks remained peaceful and loyal. In the interior their lives scarcely changed except for slimmer rations and more work. The approach of Federal armies prompted thousands to flee to liberation, yet a surprising number remained on the old homestead even after freedom. Some took advantage of the men's absence to bar-

Blacks and Whites working together in Southern fields after the war.
(W. L. Sheppard)



Francis W. Pickens, Governor of South Carolina.
(Battles and Leaders of the Civil War)

gain for extra privileges or slack off from work. Women in charge of plantations could not always keep taut rein on the field hands. As one Texas woman wrote her husband, "I shall say nothing if they stop work entirely . . . [and] will try to feel thankful if they let me alone."

The people of the South lived intimately with war. They had underestimated its horrors and miscalculated their chances of survival. What began as a lark or crusade ended in tragedy and destruction. Wigfall had been right: southerners were a peculiar people. And in choosing to go to war with the North, they paid a terrible price for their peculiarities. By 1865 the Confederacy had become a land of misery, filled with ghosts that would stalk the region for years. While the North celebrated its victory, southerners mourned the death of history. Henry Timrod, the South Carolina poet, left them an epitaph:

> Sleep sweetly in your humble graves,
> Sleep, martyrs of a fallen cause.

SUGGESTED READING LIST

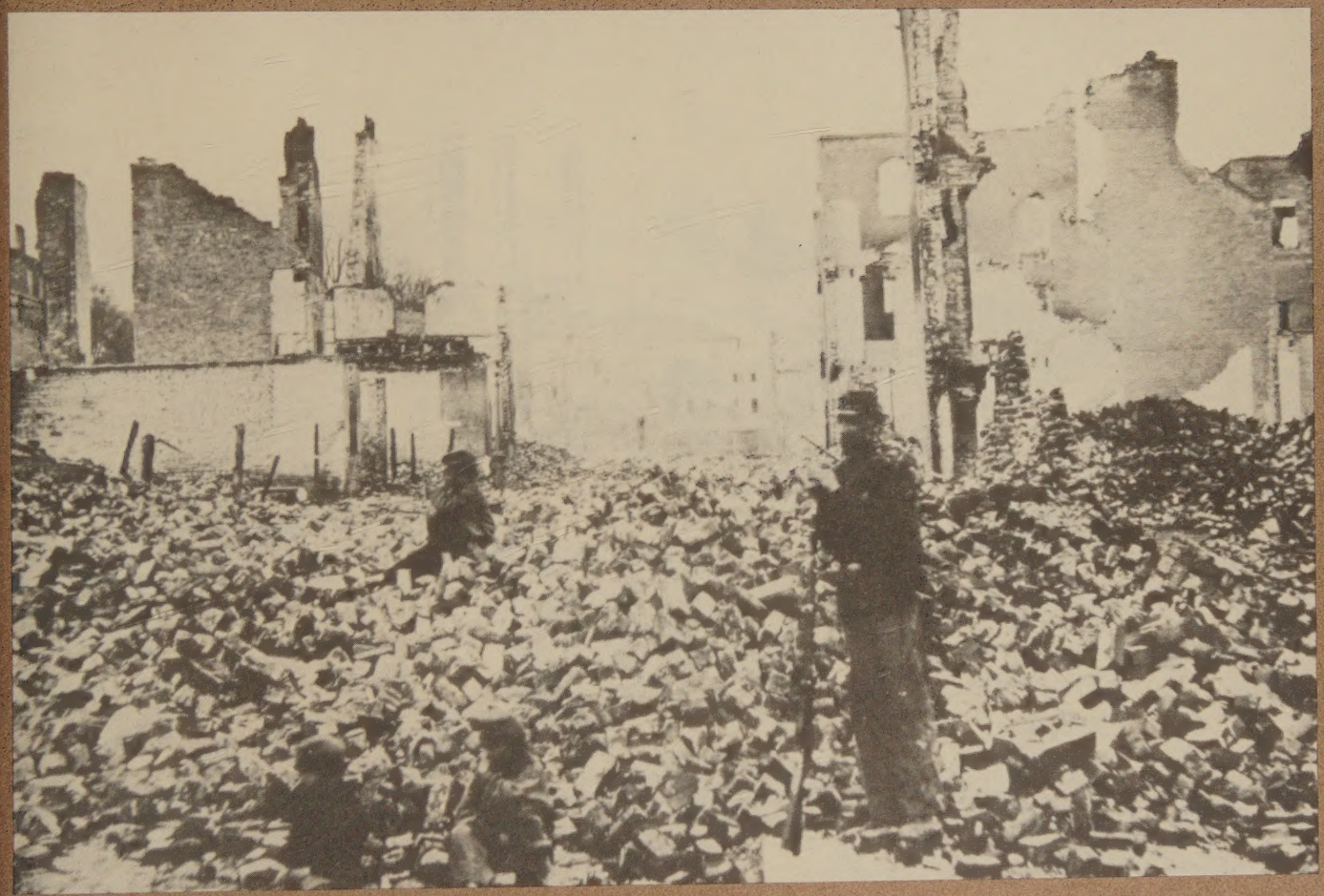
Northern Life

1. E.D. Fite, *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North during the Civil War.*
2. George W. Smith and Charles Judah (ed.), *Life in the North During the Civil War.*
3. Constance McLaughlin Green, *Washington: Village and Capitol, 1800-1878.*
4. H.C. Hubbart, *The Older Middle West 1840-1880.*

Southern Life

1. Clement Eaton, *A History of the Southern Confederacy.*
2. Charles P. Roland, *The Confederacy.*
3. Mary Elizabeth Massey, *Ersatz in the Confederacy.*
4. Bell I. Wiley, and Hirst D. Milhollen, *Embattled Confederates.*

Left and right: The city of Richmond, Virginia reduced to rubble and ash, 1865.



(Both photographs: Library of Congress)

Altanta, Georgia, 1865.
(Civil War Times Illustrated collection)

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